

The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial¹⁷⁸ and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is⁵⁶¹ divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two⁶¹⁶ groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two¹⁶¹ of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lasy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:— First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the⁵⁷⁴ older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social¹⁷⁸ grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and⁵⁷¹ women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men.⁵⁷⁴ These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for¹⁶¹ ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of¹⁷⁸
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a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 541 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village: On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-96) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three *wirã* groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages: thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [114]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãupawã* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

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[22] of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

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[177] Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was maleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

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● 571 This brief comparison of the cultural values, and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medicinal knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

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[797] Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign disease) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more maleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

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571 Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramakamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kive marriage

classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

Columbia University, New York.

RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé ao contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decréscimo da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos lavradoras das selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provavelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos da aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, o dobro daquela e, provavelmente, expansiva. Estes últimos, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família e modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhas. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimento, mais decisivos o respeito pareçam ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sobre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelas fontes alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Friza que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho da população, precisando ser reajustados, por isso, em caso de mudança da situação demográfica.

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